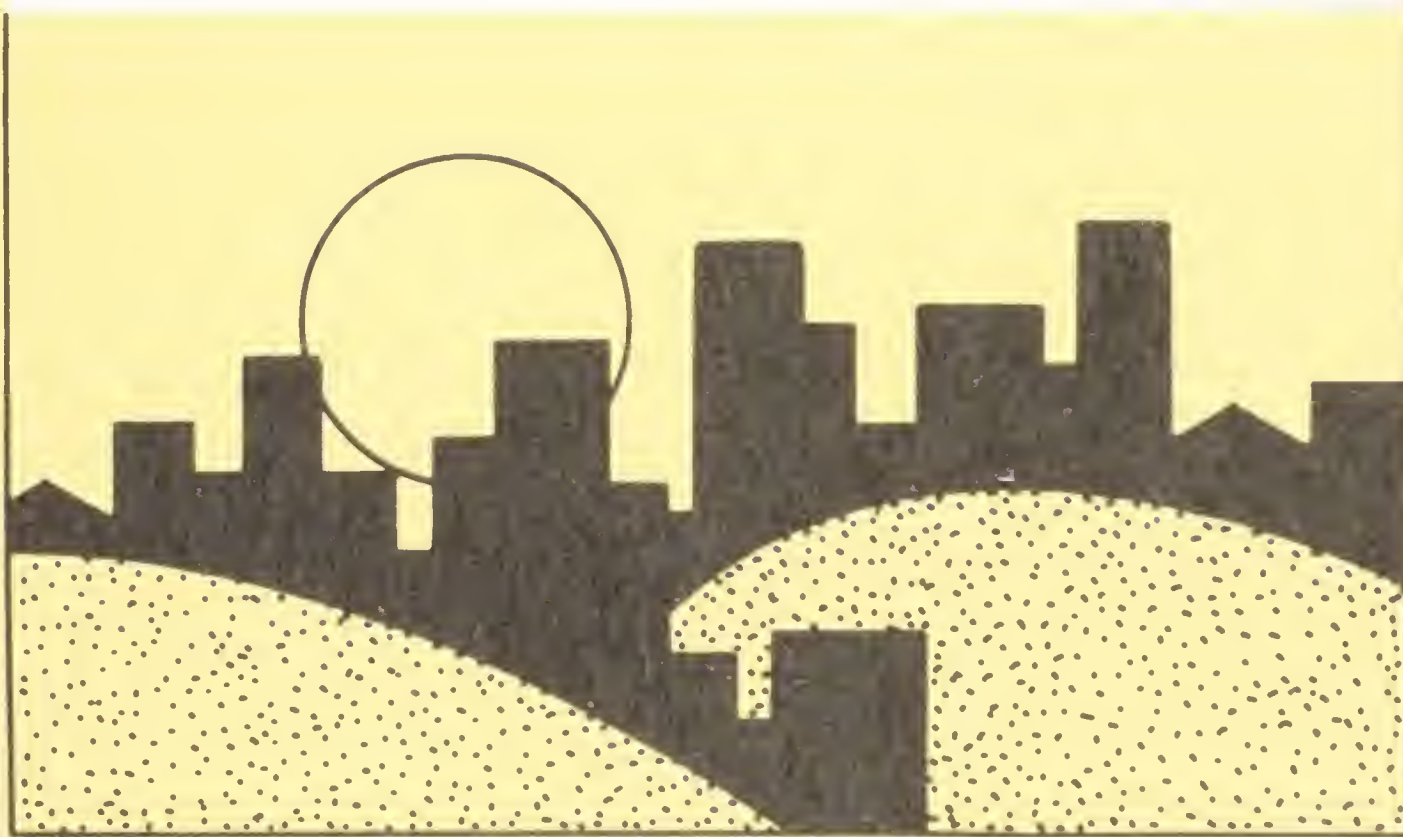




METROPOLITAN PLANNING IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Blair Badcock

URU Working Paper No. 10
January 1989



AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY
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ABSTRACT

The South Australian Department of Environment and Planning decided to review metropolitan strategy in 1985, after neglecting strategic planning for almost a decade, when it became apparent that the stock of land set aside for urban expansion would be exhausted by the turn of the century. As part of this exercise, in the second half of 1987 details were released of: the metropolitan development programme for 1986-91; a long-term development strategy for metropolitan Adelaide; the recommendations of an inter-departmental working party on urban consolidation; and proposed changes to residential development policy within the metropolitan area. Subsequently, a group of consultants was commissioned to report on the social and community impact of the longer-term development options.

Following a brief outline of the status of, and machinery presently available for, metropolitan planning in South Australia, the relationship between the development programming cycle and the formulation of longer-term, policy is considered. Three aspects of the revised urban strategy are examined in greater detail: (i) the setting of goals; (ii) the adequacy of the criteria used, including public sector versus 'private' costs, de-concentration, employment projections, transportation needs, and housing requirements; and (iii) the role of consolidation in metropolitan strategy.

The feasibility of implementing the strategy is taken up in the third section, especially the prospect for more compact residential development. The conclusion notes that although consolidation will undoubtedly lower public expenditure on urban infrastructure and the social costs associated with fringe development, it will be regressive in certain other respects.

METROPOLITAN PLANNING IN AUSTRALIA

A URU Sponsored Seminar

Blair Badcock's paper was a contribution to a two-day seminar on *Metropolitan Planning in Australia* organised by the Urban Research Unit in February 1988. The paper reproduced here is a revised and updated version of the original. This is the fifth publication of papers from the seminar to appear in this series. The foci of the seminar were the metropolitan plans or strategies which have recently appeared for four of Australia's largest cities. On the first day, papers describing the evolution and present state of planning policies and machinery in Melbourne, Adelaide, Brisbane, Perth and Sydney were discussed. On the second, a variety of metropolitan planning themes were addressed. These included 'Planning Objectives' and the 'Instruments of Planning', with an international perspective provided by Peter Self. A full list of the papers delivered at the seminar can be found in the endpapers of this publication.

In the view of the Urban Research Unit, the seminar was timely. Sydney has a new metropolitan strategy covering urban growth and change for a population of up to four and a half million. Adelaide is the subject of a new 25-year metropolitan development strategy. Perth's corridor plan has been the subject of a recent major review. Melbourne has seen the transfer of metropolitan planning from the Melbourne Metropolitan Board of Works to the State Government, and the appearance of a 10-year urban strategy as part of a new integrated system of Cabinet policy-making. In the present unfavourable economic and political climate for strategic government planning, this revival of Australian metropolitan planning holds considerable interest. What can the big cities learn from each other's plans or from overseas experience? How useful are long-term land use plans and how do they relate to problems of urban management and service coordination? How much 'planning' is possible as opposed to incremental change and *ad hoc* decisions? What time horizons should be used? How, and how far, will metropolitan plans be actually implemented?

In the discussion, it emerged that all big cities (except Brisbane) wanted to reduce the extent and the cost of further peripheral growth, and to encourage urban consolidation and the promotion of stronger suburban centres. All of them wanted to retain the vitality of the capital city and its central area. The seminar revealed that these goals will not be easy to achieve, and that further study of the methods of implementation would be well worthwhile.

The second day produced intensive discussion of the respective virtues and vices of statutory land use plans *versus* coordinated but pragmatic urban management systems. The machinery of State Government was given attention, as was the prospective role of local government, highlighted by the case of Brisbane. International experience suggested the key importance of land, housing and transportation policies for the achievement of metropolitan objectives, subjects which get too little attention in the Australian metropolitan plans. Some participants brought attention to the desirability of directing some growth to other centres in the same State. Others noted the weak understanding by planners of the property market and the need for more long-term evaluation of development costs and benefits.

The seminar achieved its aim of a useful review of the present state of metropolitan planning in Australia. In its wake, lies a formidable agenda for further research, comparison, evaluation and effective government action.

METROPOLITAN PLANNING IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

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INTRODUCTION

As background to a consideration of the present status and the principal goals of metropolitan planning in South Australia, and the means available for implementing metropolitan strategy, it is worth outlining the dominant approach to urban management. From a vantage point in the mid-1990s, 1987-88 may appear as an important watershed in the evolution of metropolitan strategy in South Australia. Metropolitan planning languished for more than a decade prior to that:

Statutory planning and development control functions dominate planning at both State and local level, to the detriment of strategic planning. Although the State Government receives better and coordinated advice on urban development issues now than in the past, there are insufficient resources applied to strategic planning [Kinhill Stearns 1985: 271].

The subordination of metropolitan strategy during the last decade can be partly traced to the reorganisation of planning and housing policy that John Mant, as Director-General of the Department of Housing, Urban and Regional Affairs (DHURA), presided over in 1976-78, and partly to the opportunism of the Tonkin Government (1979-82). In retrospect, it seems that in setting up the DHURA Mant overcorrected for the palpable deficiencies of setpiece or 'end-state' planning. One of the objectives of the reorganisation of planning and housing in South Australia in 1978 was to create an urban and regional management process that could comprehend and respond to an uncertain future more successfully than a periodic review of the metropolitan development plan.

There were two aspects to this: firstly, there was a shift from a functional to an areal approach to management so that the main line-functions of the Department could devolve to the level of the Sector Manager (four in the

Metro region, three in the urban fringe, and four in the country); secondly, strategic planning was replaced by the Staging Study, which provided a basis for the coordination of new urban development, as the "central core of the Department's work on Metropolitan Adelaide" (Mant 1978: 10). Mant believed that regional managers were much better placed to administer statutory planning policy and development control on a day-to-day basis. Likewise, the Metropolitan Development Plan with its emphasis on long-term objectives provided a very inadequate framework for the coordination and forward planning of urban development in the short-term. Thus, the Metropolitan Development Programme, which grew out of the Staging Study, is prepared each year for the ensuing five years.

Mant's conception of planning as the 'management of the urban development process' relegated the strategic planning function in South Australia, and perhaps unwittingly played into the hands of the incoming Tonkin Government in September 1979. The Coalition dismembered DHURA, and its Housing and Metropolitan Division was reconstituted as the Development Management Division within the Department of Environment and Planning (DEP). Moreover, the Tonkin Government completed the downgrading of strategic planning that had begun under Mant by dismantling any remaining capacity within the Department.

The main responsibility of the Development Management Division through the mid-1980s has been the administration of the revised Planning Act (1982) and the City of Adelaide Development Control Act (1976). The revision of the Planning Act (1982) took account of the findings and recommendations of the Hart Inquiry into the Control of Private Development in South Australia, which had been commissioned in April 1977 by Hugh Hudson, the Minister of Planning in the Dunstan Government. At a rough estimate, the operational demands of development control and the servicing of the South Australian Planning Commission have escalated to the point where they currently consume

about 75 per cent of the Development Management Division's resources.¹ It was not the first time that Mant's judgement returned to haunt his former Department: "Unfortunately, development control has a habit of subsuming (sic.) an organisation leaving it little energy to come to grips with the forces which give rise to the demand for development" (Mant 1978: 6). On the eve of the review of the Metropolitan Development Plan in early 1985, the DEP was so caught up in the administration of the development control system that it had neither the inclination nor the means to do justice to the exercise. As a consequence, private consultants were commissioned (Kinhill Stearns 1985; Sarkissian *et al.* 1984) to do much of the work that should have been within the capabilities of a state planning organisation.

The last review of metropolitan planning strategy for Adelaide had been carried out by the old State Planning Authority (1977), shortly prior to the reorganisation which saw the creation of DHURA. Given that strategic planning issues were very low on the Department's list of priorities by the mid-1980s, what prompted the review of long-term development options for metropolitan Adelaide? Firstly, with the availability of the 1981 Census, the implications of some of the projections of demographic change within the metropolitan region could no longer be dismissed. Forecasts produced by the Department's own Forecasting and Land Monitoring Unit (SA DEP 1985) confirmed that at current rates of change the Central Sector, comprising the inner and middle suburbs, could expect to lose 38,593 persons between 1981-2001 (-6.2 per cent), while the Outer Sector would gain 222,983 persons over the same period (+66.5 per cent). On the basis of those trends it could be expected that all the land designated for urban expansion would be developed or committed by about 1997. Moreover, while the 5-year development programme satisfactorily coordinates the new growth occurring at the edge of the city (although even that can be shown to have its departments to look far enough forward to the critical thresholds when capacity is exhausted), the implications of population loss in the older suburbs (Figure 1) had been

¹ The remainder goes to support the activities of the Forecasting and Land Monitoring Unit and the Inner Western Programme in the Metropolitan Branch, the Assessments Branch, and the Land Division and Regulations Branch.

suburbs (Figure 1) had been neglected by the DEP. These reach well beyond the familiar problems associated with the under-utilisation of the existing housing stock and public infrastructure, to the looming task of asset replacement (South Australian Public Accounts Committee, 1987). Secondly, with the exception of demographic change, it is fair to say that the state planning organisation has a very poor comprehension of the processes of structural change and economic development, and the operation of urban property markets, and how these forces impinge upon the operational environment in which area management takes place. In some ways, urban management in South Australia has been disabled during the last decade or so by the lack of any 'in house' expertise in these areas. Quite simply, "The system of semantics, procedures and land use plans that has operated for twenty years in both metropolitan and local planning" (Bunker 1987: 5) does not constitute an urban strategy.

Fortunately, as indicated elsewhere (Badcock 1987), the review of metropolitan strategy at the beginning of 1985 was designed to address some of these deficiencies. In the second half of 1987 the SA DEP (1987a; 1987b; 1987c; 1987d) released details of: the metropolitan development programme for 1986-91; a long-term development strategy for metropolitan Adelaide; the recommendations of an inter-government working party on urban consolidation; proposed changes to residential development policy within the metropolitan area. In a nutshell, the metropolitan strategy envisages a slowing down of growth on the outskirts of the Adelaide region coupled with a compaction of the existing built-up area (otherwise known as urban consolidation). The keystone of this strategy, insofar as its implementation is concerned, is the Government's Supplementary Development Plan which was gazetted on January 1, 1989.

Also, sections of the renamed Development Management Division (Figure 2) — now the Planning Division — have been replaced to reflect the shift away from sector management, and the reinstatement of a strategic planning process for the metropolitan area. The operational responsibilities for strategy planning and forecasting now rest with a 'Development Programming' section; strategy implementation and the

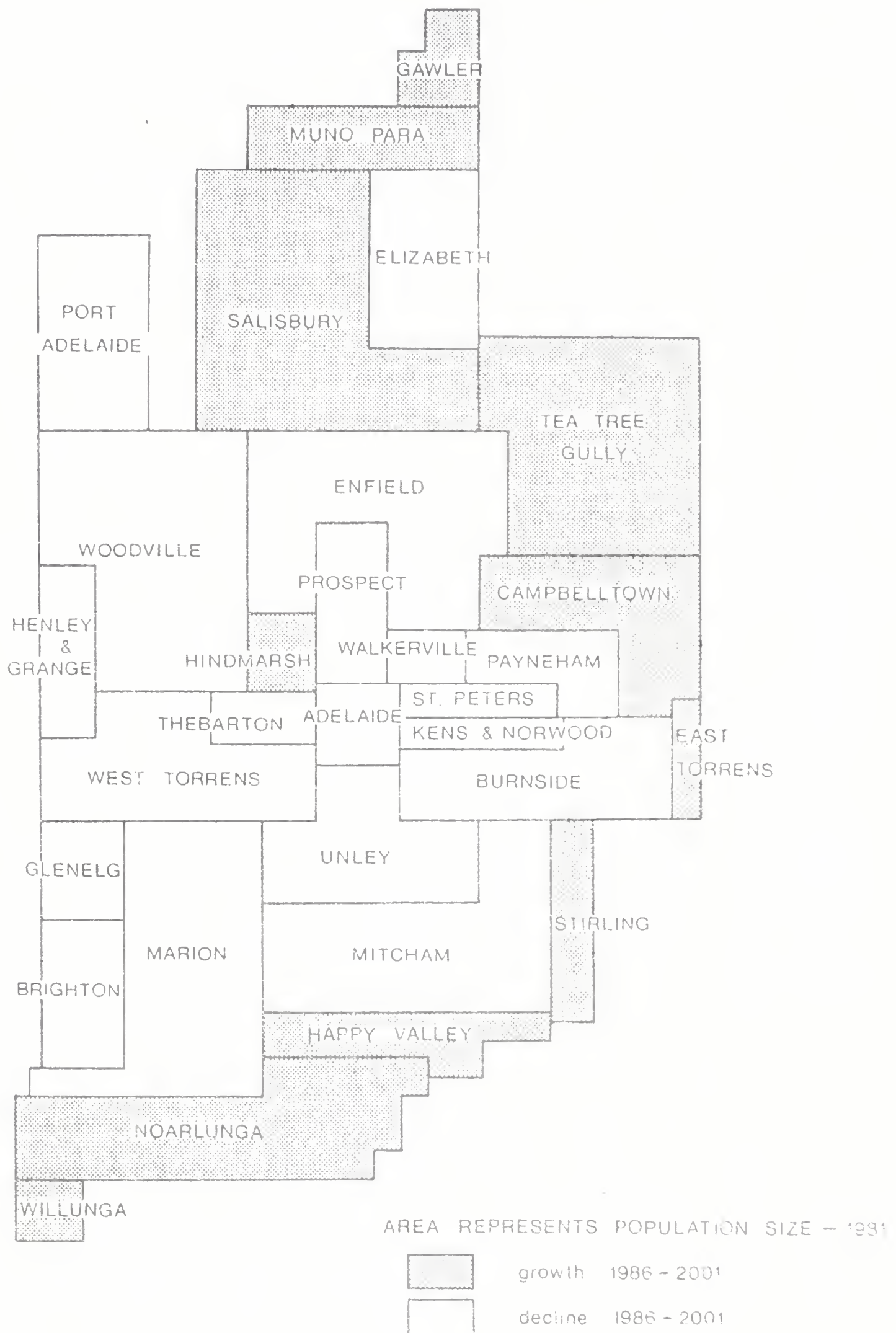


Figure 1: Projected population change by LGA, the Adelaide Statistical Division, 1986-2001
(Source: DEP 1987b: 24)

DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENT AND PLANNING ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

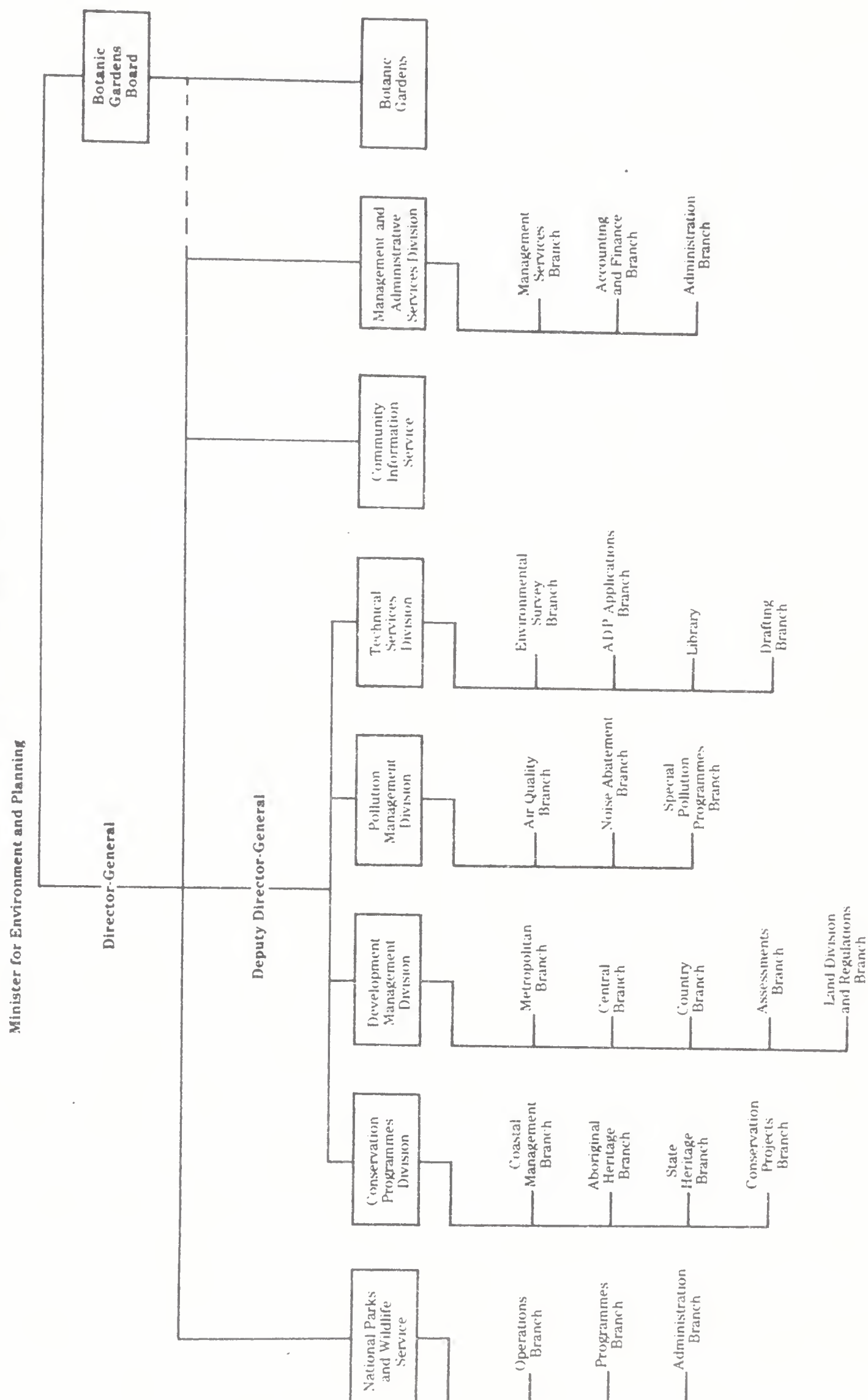


Figure 2: Organisational chart for the DEP in South Australia.
(Source: *Annual Report of the Department of Environment & Planning*, 1985-86. Govt Pr, Adelaide, 1987)

evaluation of the SDPs are the responsibilities of 'Policy and Projects'; 'Development Assessment' administers the development control process.

At the moment, metropolitan planning in South Australia is in a state of flux. For the purposes of this presentation it makes more sense to look forward to the proposed changes in the status, goals, and implementation of metropolitan strategy than it does to spend excessive time casting back over practices and policies that are in the process of being superceded.

STATUS AND MACHINERY

Statutory Regulation of Urban Development

Strategic planning has been low on the DEP's list of priorities for over a decade and, until the recently completed review, the metropolitan planning process has been divided between the administration of development control, the preparation of structure plans for the release of broadacres, and the staging strategy for new development.

Under the Planning Act (1982), planning control is primarily vested with local government, except where a state or regional interest is endangered and then the development application must be referred to the South Australian Planning Commission for adjudication. The Commission is serviced by the DEP and to avoid a conflict of interests the Planning Act (1982) also established an Advisory Committee on Planning (ACOP). Apart from conducting public hearings for Ministerial plans, the ACOP also assesses Council SDPs. Unexpectedly, the ACOP has operated as intended: "... any analysis of the planning system must recognise the emergence of ACOP as a strongly independent organisation that accepts advice from all sources but reaches its own conclusions" (McPhail 1986: 5).

The Planning Appeals Tribunal is the third piece of machinery for urban planning in South Australia. Most of its work is generated by the 'consent use' provisions administered by local government in the granting of development approval. The DEP hopes to streamline these

which have come to account for a disproportionate amount of the Development Management Division's resources. The Chairmanship of the South Australian Planning Commission and ACOP will revert to a part-time position, and as much as possible of the routine processing of development control is to be returned to the metropolitan Councils.

The Urban Development Co-ordinating Committee, which includes representatives from 16 state government agencies, oversees the metropolitan development programming cycle. The Committee was created by State Cabinet in 1983 to coordinate the sequential release of land for residential subdivision and the provision of services (Figure 3). It advises the Minister for Environment and Planning and the Resources and Physical Development Sub-committee of Cabinet on issues relating to metropolitan development in general. The Metropolitan Development Programme for the period 1986-91 is part of an iterative process that continuously relates population growth and housing demand, land development, physical and social planning, the capital works programmes of government agencies, metropolitan planning policy, and the State budget (SA DEP 1987a: 4). However, in the absence of a longer-term strategy, there was a danger that an iterative programme with very clear operational priorities might indefinitely perpetuate the incremental growth at the edge of the metropolitan area.

Re-examination of Long-term Development Options

The DEP released its long-term development strategy for metropolitan Adelaide in September 1987. The report concludes that

... in the foreseeable future the linear form of the Adelaide Metropolitan Area will not change appreciably. Moreover, relatively little land outside the current metropolitan boundary will be required to house the population growth of 200,000 persons which is expected over the period 1986-2011. By instituting a policy of urban containment including the rezoning of significant parcels of metropolitan land for residential use and the redevelopment of certain parts of the existing residential area it is possible to provide for much of the demand for residential land to 2011 [SA DEP 1987b: 3-4].

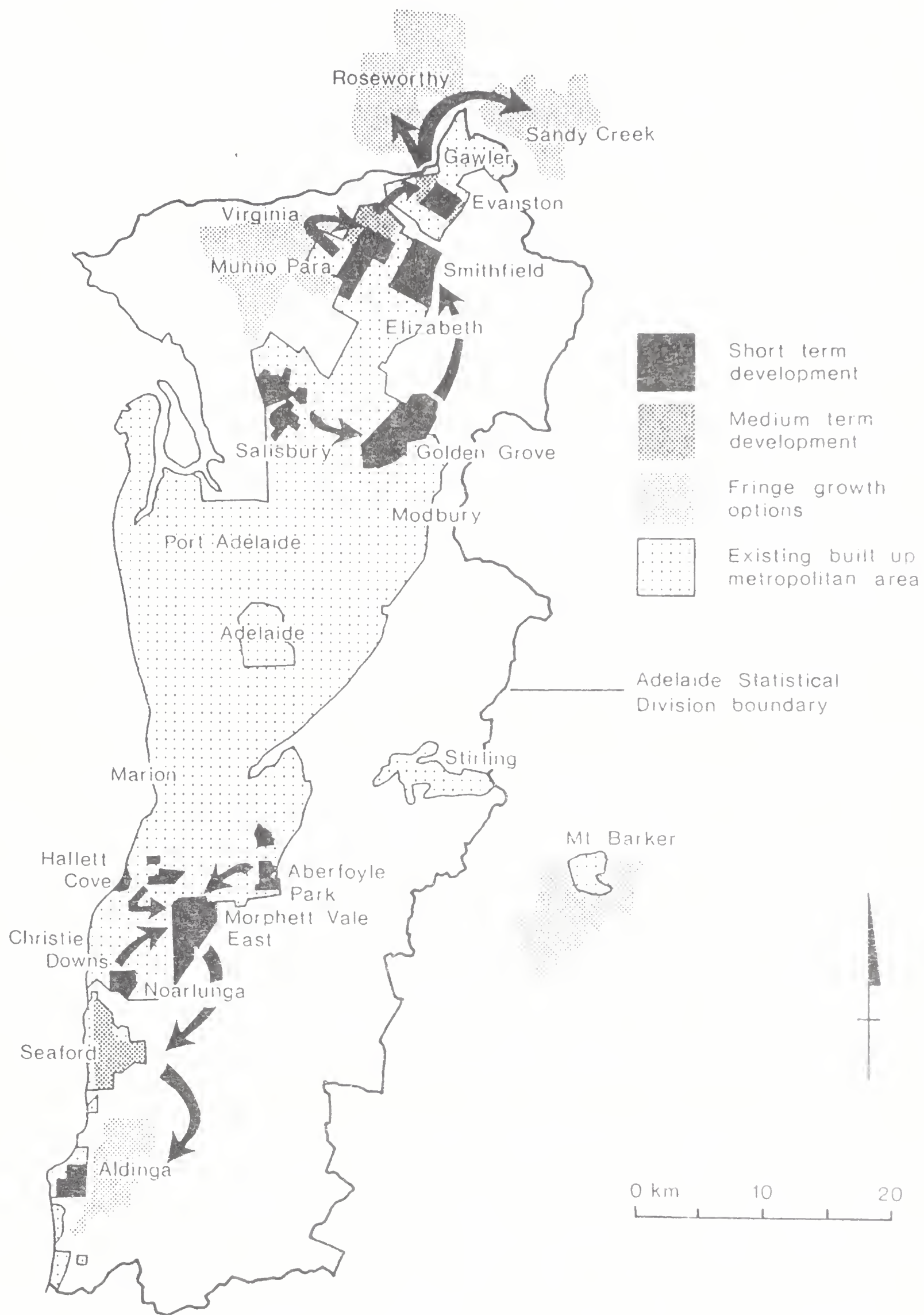


Figure 3: Proposed release of land for housing development under the Metropolitan Development Program, 1986-91, and the 5 fringe growth options selected by Kinhill Stearns (1985)

This conclusion draws on the findings and recommendations of the two studies commissioned by the DEP in 1985 (Kinhill Stearns 1985) and 1986 (Sarkissian *et al.* 1987).

The Kinhill Stearns discussion paper examined the opportunities for and the constraints to future urban development. On the basis of a cost-benefit exercise, it identified five fringe areas as optional locations for further urban growth, assuming that some measure of containment could not accommodate all the additional population growth (Figure 3). At the same time as it released the Kinhill Stearns discussion paper, the State Government issued a Supplementary Development Plan putting into place new planning controls over the five optional areas. Because the Kinhill Stearns study was so biased towards the capital expenditure associated with physical infrastructure, the DEP commissioned a social and community impact assessment of the five selected fringe areas (Sarkissian *et al.* 1987).

The housing market analysis undertaken as part of that study estimated that by 2011 some 26,900 new dwellings will be needed outside the existing metropolitan area in one (or more) of the areas of peripheral development. The problems of fringe location for poor households in Australian cities are so well documented by now that the consultants had no hesitation in advising that, "No peripheral area would be acceptable for major development without massive physical (especially public transport) and social infrastructure" (Sarkissian *et al.* 1987: iv).

The long-term development strategy that the DEP has finally settled for gives due consideration to a number of weighty constraints. Firstly, the calculations produced by the South Australian Public Accounts Committee (1987) for asset replacement over the next few decades are arresting (to say the least). Secondly, the capital expenditure involved in service provision over the next five years, 1986-91, is in the order of \$250 million. After that, as the 40,000 person threshold is exceeded, the government will not be able to avoid the substantial additional investment associated with headworks if fringe development continues unchecked. Thirdly, the public transport deficit is currently running at \$100 million

and would continue to escalate with additional fringe development. Lastly, the message in the Sarkissian report is an unequivocal one: the consultants doubt the government's ability to provide the necessary transportation and social services in remote locations, let alone the private sector's capacity to provide appropriate employment opportunities. In the interests of social equity, no more low income households should be consigned to raw suburbs over 50 kilometres from the centre of Adelaide. (Although see Stretton 1988a and 1988b).

Accordingly, the government has accepted the need to actively promote urban consolidation as the key objective of the long-term metropolitan strategy, and allow for some spill-over in selected locations so that the inevitable pressures on land and house prices do not become too excessive. Expansion will be limited to two of the optional locations originally identified by Kinhill Stearns (Aldinga and Sandy Creek).

The management of metropolitan development now has two components. There is a reasonably well-coordinated development programme that attends to the operational requirements of incremental growth at the edge of the city. It is an ongoing process that is organised around an annual programming cycle and subject to fairly accurate costing by the Treasury. In addition, the population and housing demand projections produced as part of this exercise now indicate that it would be prudent to develop a strategy that provides longer-term options for the government. The DEP stresses that it is not resurrecting a foresaken 'end-state' plan, but is setting out 'a series of strategies to guide and control the future growth of metropolitan Adelaide' (SA DEP 1987b: 17).

The main threat to the longer-term strategy, when the details and approach to implementation become clearer, lie within the political process. For example, Adelaide is not as susceptible as Melbourne or Sydney, say, to the circumvention of district centres policy. However, during the interregnum when strategic planning was all but dormant the government did abandon the north-south corridor through the inner western suburbs. With the review of metropolitan strategy looming on the horizon, the government's decision was ill-conceived and pre-emptive

(Cabinet voted to abandon the proposal in June 1983, and endorsed the recommendation to give formal consideration to the long-term development options for Adelaide in October 1984). In addition to that, a number of development proposals of strategic and environmental significance have gone ahead in the face of considerable opposition, sometimes from within the State bureaucracy. These include the Adelaide Station Environs Redevelopment (ASER) project and the Golden Grove Indenture.

There is no evidence to suggest that any serious attempt has been made by the Government to integrate state development with metropolitan planning, nor that there was any real consultation between the DEP and the City of Adelaide's Plan Review Team in the course of revising metropolitan and central city development policies. To be fair, perhaps a more assertive Planning Division within the DEP will put pressure on both the Department of State Development and Technology, and the Special Projects Unit within the Department of the Premier and Cabinet, to consider the implications of their activities upon metropolitan development. Likewise, the appointment of the former Director of the DEP's Development Management Division to the position of City Planner may lead to greater consultation between the Department and the City of Adelaide in the future.²

REFASHIONING A METROPOLITAN STRATEGY

Goal-setting

The strategy for long-term metropolitan development (SA DEP 1987b: 8-11) is designed to:

- ensure the provision of wider housing choice, more affordable housing and more efficient use of land, services and the housing

² The parties come together in the City of Adelaide Planning Commission to consider disputed development applications, but not really the role of the CBD within the metropolitan economy).

stock; provide for the orderly and staged development of metropolitan growth;

- encourage and assist in the provision of safe, pleasant and convenient living areas;
- ensure the provision of a comprehensive, integrated and efficient transport system which assists the development of the metropolitan area to a standard commensurate with community needs and at a cost acceptable to the State Government and the community;
- ensure the timely provision of an adequate range of social and community services to new development areas; and
- safeguard areas of significance in terms of the natural environment, recreation potential, water, agricultural and mining resources and heritage and landscape value.

Each of these objectives is supported by sets of more specific measures which vary in detail and are largely unexceptionable (apart from the recommendation to abandon the Mt. Barker option).

The long-term strategy paper (SA DEP 1987b: 35-42) presents land and housing budgets for the next 25 years assuming either of two scenarios: a continuation of urban expansion at the present rate, as opposed to an intensification of land usage (i.e. increase the construction of 'other dwellings' to 50 per cent of new stock by 2001-06; increase demolitions by 50 per cent to create opportunities for medium density 'infill'; double the rate of resubdivisions; increase the allotment yield from broadacre subdivision by 20 per cent; redevelop land in public ownership). Either way, the estimates of forward land requirements assume a target population of about 1.2 million, which could be reached before or after 2011. (The ASD population reported at the 1986 Census as 977,721 was about 20,000 short of the DEP's forecast of 998,500). The relevant consideration is that if the containment measures could be achieved, the need to replenish the land bank would be delayed by a full decade. This

would leave only 1,720 hectares of land to be found beyond the existing metropolitan boundary by 2011.

Adequacy of the Criteria

Public Sector versus 'Private' Costs

In the course of the review of metropolitan strategy, a systematic assessment was undertaken of the problems associated with a continuation of the present pattern of growth. Kinhill Stearns (1985) prepared some approximations of the public sector costs involved in separately developing each of the five growth options. They did not, however, prepare a composite costing for a multi-nodal growth strategy which, together with some consolidation, may have been the least-cost option. Although they endeavoured to take some account of the social and environmental impact of fringe growth in the five nominated zones, the scale they devised was too crude to be very useful. It was left to Sarkissian *et al.* (1987) to make a thorough evaluation of the social consequences of developing any one of the five locations recommended by Kinhill Stearns (1985). They determined that 'there are serious problems with all the peripheral options', but conceded that,

While no area can be recommended, Mt. Barker is an attractive option, if its development were combined with a high degree of urban consolidation, and it were developed to a size which would not prejudice the environment, but support a centre with the necessary human services provision and support road upgrading [Sarkissian et al. 1987: iv].

Where there was insufficient information available about particular aspects of a fringe option, further investigation was commended to the DEP. Examples include studies of: the noise from the RAAF base at Edinburgh; the feasibility of the airport originally proposed for the Two Wells area; the capacity and costs of upgrading the road connection with Mt. Barker; the prospects of employment generation within the vicinity of the fringe options; and, accessibility to employment in the proposed development areas. Oddly enough, in their synthesis of the consultants' recommendations the DEP rejects the opinion that "Mt. Barker must be

identified as the most satisfactory peripheral development option from a social perspective" (Sarkissian *et al.* 1987: 200), on the grounds that it suffers from poor marketability, high costs associated with servicing and the provision of infrastructure, and unacceptable impacts on water catchments and the sensitive Hills environment (SA DEP 1987b: 113).

De-concentration

Decentralisation as a solution to metropolitan growth no longer attracts much support in official South Australian circles. Firstly, the slowing of population growth and the ageing of the community lessen the impetus for regional development; secondly, it is improbable that a regional programme could concentrate the employment base necessary for self-sustaining growth; thirdly, there is the parallel problem of finding the public funds for infrastructure and services. Nonetheless, what the final report does seem to overlook is that there could be a continuing leakage of at least some population to the non-metropolitan sector (Bell 1980; Smailes and Hugo 1985).

Employment Projections

The revised metropolitan strategy does not really concern itself with how growth over the next twenty-five years might impinge upon the CBD. The final report (SA DEP 1987b: 107) notes that Adelaide falls well below the population threshold where the level of service of the central business district can be replicated at key regional centres (Elizabeth, Port Adelaide, Tea Tree Plaza, Marion, and Noarlunga). And even though there has been some dispersal of office employment to locations immediately across the Parklands (Greenhill Road and Dequetteville Terrace) and recently back to the CBD frame, the white collar workforce in the metropolitan region is likely to remain comparatively concentrated. Similarly, the Port Adelaide-Gepps Cross corridor in the north-western sector provides the greatest density of blue collar employment opportunities. Consequently, the centre of gravity of the urban labour market will remain fairly central on a north-south axis, which is likely to aggravate the time-cost budgets of commuters settling literally at the 'end of the line' should the Sandy Creek and Aldinga options be pursued by the DEP.

District centre policy is no longer the issue that it is in Melbourne, or even Sydney, since the resolution of the conflict that arose over the Myers' proposal to develop a regional centre at Queenstown in contravention of the Metropolitan Development Plan, and in competition with Port Adelaide and West Lakes shopping mall. The Myers site at Queenstown in the north-western suburbs now supports Housing Trust 'cluster' housing, while the state sponsored redevelopment of the old Port Adelaide commercial core has attracted \$45-50 million in private and government reinvestment over the last two to three years (South Australian Planning Commission 1986: 27-28). If anything, the role of the major regional centres has been strengthened: the town centre of Elizabeth has been extensively upgraded and modernised; the O'Bahn system is being extended out to Tea Tree Plaza, which will be a major bus interchange; the business function of Port Adelaide has been totally revitalised; the full range of community services at Noarlunga will be completed with the addition of a community hospital.

Transportation Needs

There is a strong nexus in the metropolitan strategy document between the assumptions made about urban transportation policy (surprisingly there appears to be minimal input from the Director-General of Transportation's office) and the emphasis given to principles of social equity, especially as they relate to the development of the fringe options. Neither of these considerations are addressed in anything like the same detail when it comes to urban consolidation policy. Indeed, the imputation is that with urban consolidation, the public transport system will be manageable (if not profitable), and that the social and geographical differences in levels of access and service provision within the metropolitan area will be tolerable.

The DEP reiterates the strong concerns voiced by the consultants responsible for preparing the social impact evaluation of the fringe options: "it is imperative that an efficient public transportation system be provided to serve any fringe growth areas which are developed. Without good public transport, fringe development will inevitably generate high levels of stress, inequity and social dysfunction" (1987b: 110).

TABLE 1

ESTIMATED CURRENT TRAVEL TIMES (IN MINUTES) BY PUBLIC AND PRIVATE TRANSPORT FROM SELECTED FRINGE AREAS TO THE CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT

	Mode of Travel at Peak Hour			
	Bus	Public Bus/Train	Train	Private Vehicle
Sandy Creek	-	79a	63b	65
Roseworthy	-	79a	63b	62
Virginia	-	47	36	40
Mt. Barker	45	-	-	43
Aldinga	-	76 ^c /83 ^d	61 ^b	67
Gawler	-	-	54	60
Elizabeth	-	-	34	45
Tea Tree Gully	23 ^e	-	-	45
Marion	44	-	-	29
Noarlunga Centre	-	-	44	49
Seaford	-	71 ^d	52 ^b	60

Notes: a bus to Gawler
b extension of rail service to this area
c bus to Seaford
d bus to Noarlunga
e O'Bahn following completion to Tea Tree Plaza

However, with good reason the DEP is not confident that the government will be prepared to provide for fast and frequent public and private connections with the rest of the urban system (the arterial road development programmed for the southern suburbs was deferred in the 1987-88 State budget). The estimates prepared by the DEP suggest that extension of the rail services to Sandy Creek and Roseworthy, at an annual operating cost of \$2-3 million per 20,000 travellers, would reduce travel

time by sixteen minutes; and that the extension of the rail link south to Aldinga would have a capital cost of \$27 million (SA DEP 1987b: 107-08). This preliminary work emphasises that, short of a high speed public transport link, travel times to the CBD from these outlying areas would be unacceptable on a comparative basis in South Australia (Table 1).

Housing Requirements

In their report, Sarkissian *et al.* (1987: vi) recommend that the DEP should remain especially mindful of the impact of strategic planning upon three groups in the community — single-parent households, older people, and children in low-income households. Their housing market analysis is extrapolated from the income distribution of households at the 1981 Census in order to forecast the income structure of the pioneer communities attracted to each of the fringe locations (Table 2). It is in this context, even given the variability of the forecasts, that the DEP's preferred fringe options (Sandy Creek and Aldinga) fail to make as much sense as Mt. Barker.

TABLE 2

INCOME STRUCTURE — ALL HOUSEHOLDS (%)

Income Group	Virginia	Sandy Creek	Roseworthy	Mt. Barker	Willunga Basin
Upper Income	11.2	37.2	13.0	43.3	23.4
Middle Income	51.0	52.3	51.9	46.4	52.3
Lower Income	37.8	10.5	35.2	10.5	24.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Totals may not sum due to rounding.

Source: R. Kirwan, 'Housing Market Analysis' in Sarkissian *et al.*(1987: 99).

The environmental objections might seem to be formidable in the case of Mt. Barker; but upper and middle income families with workers employed in the CBD and core will use private vehicles ahead of public transport, are more likely to be attracted to environmentally congenial areas, choose to be close to private schools, and tend to participate in more social and leisure time activities. Mt. Barker fulfills these requirements, but more importantly the Commonwealth Government is already committed to the upgrading of the South-eastern Freeway which is a link in the National highway system. (If Mt. Barker did develop as a relatively prosperous 'dormitory' there would be a case for recovering the costs of highway improvements with a toll. Like the North Shore suburbs of Sydney, the Hills 'villages' are not Labor strongholds!). Intuitively, one would expect more affluent families with business and social links with the City to avoid the north-south satellites (just as public servants refused to contemplate a move to Monarto); and in the absence of alternatives, increase the pressures in the housing market of well-located suburbs. Coming on top of an urban consolidation strategy, this could compound the forces for displacement.

Role of Consolidation in Metropolitan Strategy

The weight of argument against the continued expansion of the metropolitan fringe was such that a working party on urban consolidation was established in June 1986 following the release of the Kinhill Stearns paper (towards the end of 1985). The working party, chaired by Ian McPhail, Director-General of the DEP, combined representatives of State Government agencies, local government and the housing industry. Its report (SA DEP 1987c) canvassed the range of constraints that the implementation of urban containment policies will face, and presented recommendations for action. The statement of broad goals is based upon a sound appreciation of the changing demography and housing needs of the metropolitan population:

- to provide more housing choice in relation to price, location, type and access to services and employment;

- to increase the density of dwellings and/or population to make more efficient use and greater access to existing facilities; and
- to generate economies in providing services and facilities in new areas and in the use of infrastructure in existing suburbs; this can be achieved by slowing down the rate of urban expansion at the fringe (SA DEP 1987c: 2).

The main impediments to urban consolidation include: the third party appeal system; the present residential development control system, based as it is upon housing type; the availability of suitable land for alternative housing; the prevailing misconceptions about urban consolidation; the under-utilisation of the existing housing stock; the absence of information on the public and private savings that can be gained; and, the conflicting objectives at the state and local government levels.

Each of these constraints was addressed by the working party, the most influential being the appeal and development control systems, and state versus local government objectives. For these reasons, the ministerial supplementary development plan (SA DEP 1987d) forms the centrepiece of urban consolidation. There is no doubt that the encouragement of urban consolidation, with the implication of a more diverse and intensively used dwelling stock, is the appropriate response for Adelaide given the trend to smaller and older households. Over the period 1971-81 alone, the number of one- and two-person households in the metropolitan area grew by 59,000 (59.4 per cent), while three- and four-person households grew by just 23.5 per cent and all larger households underwent an absolute decline (SA DEP 1987b: 26). In as much as the Housing Trust has been housing a disproportionate share of single-parent households, aged persons, non-aged singles, and young people for some time (South Australian Housing Trust, 1987: 11-14), it is well-placed to provide a lead to the market. (As it did with residential redevelopment in the City of Adelaide at the beginning of the 1970s). Many such households do genuinely seek more manageable housing.

FEASIBILITY OF IMPLEMENTATION

Fringe Development

The revamped strategy for long-term metropolitan development is based on a two-pronged approach: selective fringe development coupled with urban containment. The mechanisms are in place for the management of incremental growth at the edge of the metropolitan area, and apart from the occasional fine-tuning, are operating reasonably effectively. The five-year metropolitan development programme is updated each year by the Urban Development Coordinating Committee, and also subject to scrutiny by several Cabinet committees. The structure plan is coordinated with the forward planning of the service departments, and the necessary funds earmarked by the Treasury on the basis of their estimates of capital and recurrent costs (SA DEP 1987a: 30-33).

One of the weakest parts of the process, human services provision, has been strengthened by the creation of a Community Planning and Development Unit within the Urban Land Trust. The staff of the Unit have worked to raise the consciousness of departmental planners and sensitise them to the needs of new communities and the importance of timely and coordinated service provision. They have also established local planning teams, which include field workers, to coordinate the social planning of major new release areas such as Golden Grove and Woodcroft (Morphett Vale East).

Prospects For More Compact Residential Development

With the Bannon administration mid-way through its second term of office the conditions for urban consolidation were believed to be as bright as they ever would be. If urban expansion is to be slowed or curbed during the next two decades, the housing industry and consumers will have to be coaxed into making quite substantial adjustments to existing patterns of behaviour, while councils and established residents will need convincing that, at worst, the consolidation policies are neutral in impact at the neighbourhood level. An important first step was taken with the

establishment of an Urban Consolidation Task Force. It is responsible for monitoring the progress of consolidation and making sure that the objectives incorporated in the Supplementary Development Plan are working correctly, especially the amended Regulation 38 of the Development Control Regulations. It also has an educative and marketing role, with the aim of dispelling many of the lingering misconceptions about consolidation and demonstrating its cost-effectiveness.

The SDP (Residential) gazetted at the beginning of 1989 "exempts from notification all single-storey dwellings and all two-storey dwellings with exclusive sites" (SA DEP 1987b: 8). This has the effect of moving the system of residential zoning in South Australia from one based upon housing type to one based upon performance criteria. To quote from the Urban Consolidation Working Party Report (SA DEP 1987c: 8)

This proposal is based on the principle that housing type is not necessarily a detriment of impact on amenity and that it is density and design which are the important factors. Detached housing which is poorly designed can have more adverse impact on amenity than well designed 'other buildings'

Currently 40 per cent of Adelaide's metropolitan residential areas are zoned as R1 where flats and units are prohibited. In 60 per cent of residential zones all forms of housing are either permitted or subject to consent but councils often exercise their discretion in favour of maintaining existing forms of housing. the whole issue of differential zoning, the justification for such a high proportion of R1 zones and the restrictions provided through consent conditions need to be re-examined.

Some members of the working party wanted all differential residential zoning to be abolished straight away. However, the majority believe this option is not practical in the short term because of expected opposition from councils and existing residents.

At first the response of local government to the SDP was fairly predictable: a number of councils laid claim to local differences that justified their exclusion from the amendments, while others could not see

the need for more compact housing in the newly developing suburbs. Nevertheless, by the beginning of 1989 16 of the 26 Metropolitan Sector Councils had begun local reviews under the SDP. Because of the considerable reinvestment that has already occurred throughout Adelaide's inner suburbs in conjunction with gentrification, the greatest scope for consolidation now lies in the middle suburbs in Local Government Areas such as Enfield, Campbelltown, Payneham and Marion. However, these councils have not yet indicated a willingness to undertake local reviews.

The State government has provided a lead to both the private sector and local government through the redevelopment programme of the Housing Trust and Inner Western Metropolitan programme. The Housing Trust has begun a programme of modernisation and replacement in two middle-distance suburbs (Mitchell Park with 800 dwellings, and Hillcrest with 200 dwellings), while the DEP is coordinating the redevelopment of Bowden-Brompton-Ridleyton (254 dwellings to March 1987). The Inner Western Programme could serve as a useful model because it has access to funds (the Urban Renewal Development Fund); the powers to assemble, though not to develop, land; and, a core of experienced staff (SA DEP 1987c: 19). The DEP has estimated that government land to the value of \$120 million is available for residential redevelopment within the present metropolitan area. On one such tract at Northfield, the Department of Agriculture Research Station has been relocated, thereby releasing enough land for an estimated 10,000 households. Now that the structure plan has been prepared for Northfield, the DEP is in the process of negotiating the acquisition of a second government installation that should be capable of accommodating 16,000 households. Significantly, the combined capacity of these two housing developments within the existing metropolitan area is almost identical to the figure of 26,900 new 'fringe' dwellings (by 2011) derived in the housing market analysis as part of the metropolitan strategy review (Sarkissian *et al.* 1987: iv).

CONCLUSION

Since the mid-1980s the South Australian government has been reawakened to the importance of longer-term urban planning. Although it has possibly exaggerated the sums involved, the Public Accounts Committee has sounded a timely warning for those who are content simply to manage processes determined by the market. The prospect of financing fringe development at the current rate on top of an asset replacement programme has helped to persuade the Cabinet that consolidation must be an integral part of future metropolitan strategy. After all, it is quite consistent with the broader approach of the Bannon Government to the rationalisation of under-utilised public resources. Within the last year the South Australian Health Commission has proposed a major restructuring of the hospital system involving closures in the city and the countryside; the Department of Education has embarked upon a programme of school closures in the south-western suburbs; and the State Transport Authority has begun to close uneconomical services.

From a public finance perspective the attractions of urban containment to any state government were never in question. However some of the processes associated with urban containment are potentially regressive. For example, it is not too difficult to predict how the housing market will respond if the rough targets for urban consolidation are achieved over the next twenty-five years. The marked steepening of the land and house price curves across the inner suburbs that has been a feature of the 1980s will continue; and in all probability the housing market will become much more segmented. This will be due to the anticipated reduction in the average size of newly subdivided allotments in the outer suburbs (from 700 m² to 600 m²); to the increase in 'infill' and 'cluster' housing through the inner and middle suburbs; and to the probable preservation of the highly capitalised properties in the eastern suburbs. One of the inconsistencies in the strategy at present is that at least some of the R1 zoning needs 'loosening' up if ageing owner-occupiers through the eastern suburbs are to 'trade-down' and remain in the same area. It is also debatable whether private developers will put the effort into designing lower-cost housing that meets the design and performance

particularly for areas where their margins are reduced by the land cost component.

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